

SECRET
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Item 19

Xerox copies of the relevant pages of the Sulzberger
book

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(N.Y. 1970)

THE LAST OF THE GIANTS

did on demobilization and a cutback on plane production in exchange for more missiles.

Khrushchev needs a success. But he is unlikely to move against Berlin now. He will probably work for a better atmosphere by something like a testing agreement.

The question in Cuba now is: Where are the nuclear warheads? It is unlikely that the Russians would leave them with the unsteady Castro. Castro did not go to the November 7 Soviet reception; nor did his brother Raul.

Lunched with Walt Rostow: He said this administration is not bound together by a particular ideology. Its members are not just Republicans or Democrats or New Dealers, etc. Their common link is that they were junior officers in World War II, and that is the way they reacted on the Cuba affair—like members of a command post and not like members of a high-up general headquarters.

The Russians tried to get a quick fix on the nuclear balance by the Cuban experiment. Now they will have to spend much more money on something like ICBMs, submarines, or a weapon in space. Or they can decide to end the armaments race and accept inspection. They will probably delay a decision and lie low for a while.

Each nation has a central complex. Russia worries about invasion from the West. The United States worries about another Pearl Harbor. The Russians touched our deepest nerve by their Cuban deception and the way Gromyko knew nothing about it when he talked with Kennedy.

WASHINGTON, November 11, 1962

SPENT the day at Paul Nitze's farm in La Plata, Maryland. Nitze told us the story of Dean Acheson's visit to Paris via London, where he spent a few hours briefing David Bruce and showing him the pictures. He had with him Sherman Kent of the CIA to explain the latter, plus a security aide to guard Kent.

When Acheson got to Paris he was smuggled into de Gaulle's office by an underground tunnel from across the street. Acheson went in alone except for the Elysée interpreter. Not even Sherman Kent was allowed. De Gaulle greeted him, then said: "Je vous écoute." Acheson explained everything, and added he had brought along pictures to confirm what he was saying. De Gaulle said: "It is not necessary to show me the pictures because obviously a great government like yours would not risk war for nothing."

Acheson said de Gaulle never made any small talk but when he saw Adenauer the next day the old Chancellor started off by talking at

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length about bowling. He had recently been down in Italy where he bowled with a Cardinal and had done very well. "Did you win?" Acheson asked. The answer was: "No, I think his prayers went more directly to heaven."

Adenauer had been briefed on the Cuban crisis the day before by Ambassador Red Dowling, so he was all prepared. He told Acheson the United States should have gone ahead and attacked the Russian installations in Cuba without bothering to consult the allies. Acheson replied: "But wouldn't you have protested that you were not being consulted about something which might directly affect German interests?" Adenauer smiled and admitted he would have.

WASHINGTON, November 20, 1962

THIS evening, I had a long talk with the President. I waited in the office of his principal secretary, Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, a very nice woman.

Mrs. Lincoln's walls are hung with presidential mementos. These include a mounted whale's tooth; she told me the President collects these unsightly objects. Also pictures of his late brother, Joe, Jr., in football uniform and as an officer; the President's Pulitzer Prize citation for *Profiles in Courage*; honorary degrees; and a galaxy of photographs, some in color and some in black and white of Kennedy, his family, and various distinguished visitors. The latter included Nkrumah, Adenauer, and Macmillan. Macmillan had sent a large photograph and an effusive inscription revising the well-known quotation to read as follows: "Ask not what your country can do for you but what we can do together for all mankind." There were also quite a few cartoons. One of these was of Nixon and Kennedy and inscribed by Nixon: "To Jack Kennedy, my neighbor, wishing him the best success in almost everything. Dick Nixon." They were neighbors in the Senate office building.

The door to the President's office was open when he came in through another entrance. He spotted me and rushed into Mrs. Lincoln's room, saying: "Hello Cy, I'm sorry I got tied up. Come on in."

I knew he had been at work since 8:30 that morning and our conversation did not end until late but he looked well and resilient. The only sign of nervousness was a fidgeting with an unlit cigarette. He was calm, collected, and moved easily from subject to subject across a broad spectrum. I am always impressed by his remarkable memory.

My fundamental impression was that despite his very considerable victory in Cuba (he had just announced that Russia was withdrawing its troops and bomber planes) and despite the Chinese-Indian cease-fire proclaimed today, he was by no means overoptimistic. I shall now give a detailed account of our conversation based on the notes I scribbled down. I had taken out my notebook from the word "go" and told him I did not